

The GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

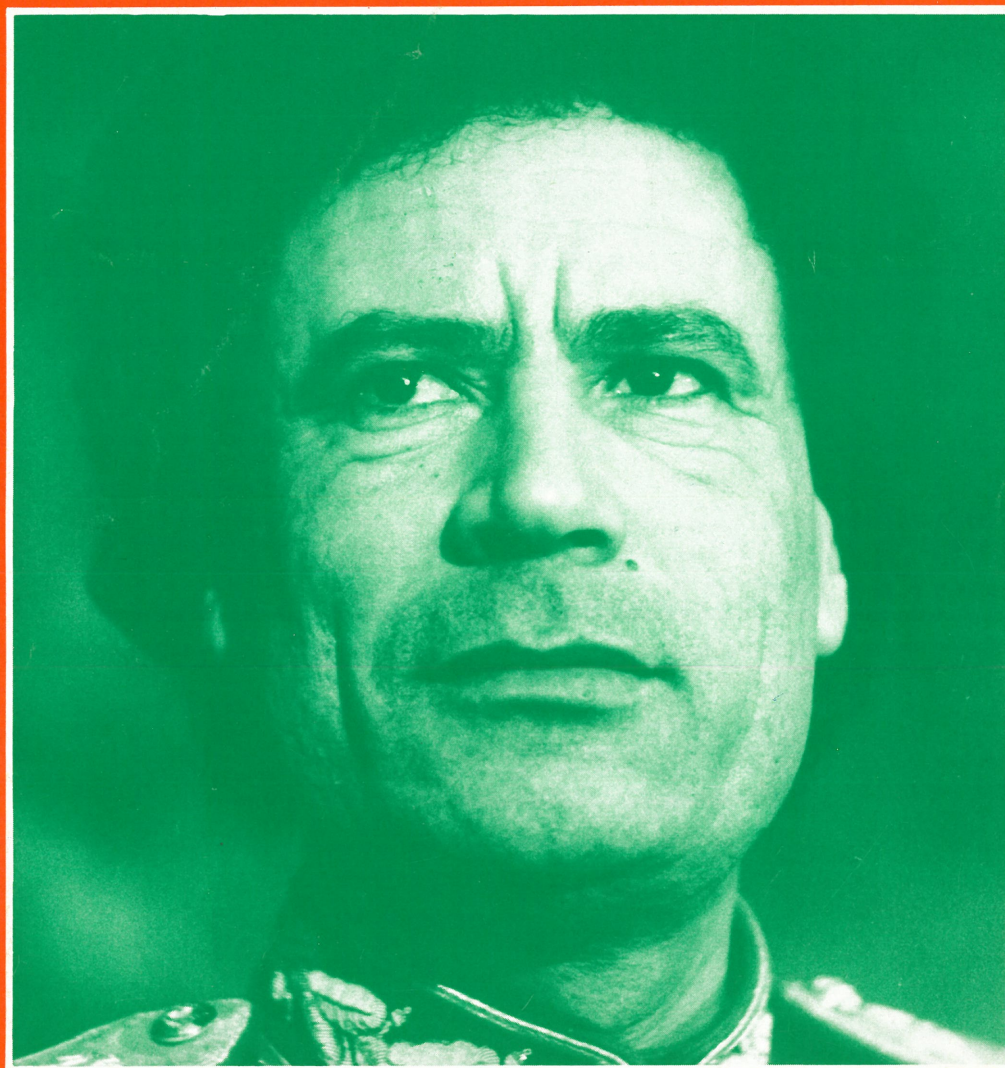
The solution of the
problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the
Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the
Third Universal Theory



In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

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February 1984

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Special Report
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jamahiriya review

February 1984 No 45

□ **ARAB DECLINE:** Washington's political and military humiliation in the Lebanon is a major set-back for American strategy in the Arab homeland, but United States plans have been boosted by moves to end the isolation of Egypt from the Arab and Islamic worlds. At the Casablanca Summit, the Libyan Jamahiriya was amongst those countries firmly opposed to moves to bring Egypt back into the Islamic fold, as ALI AZIZ explains on page 9.

This month's editorial on page 4 also examines recent developments, and warns that the failure of the Arab nation to adopt a principled stand on the major issues of the day can only open the way for increased American influence in the region.

□ **WORKERS' LIBERATION:** The status, dignity and freedom of the worker depends not so much on the level of wages but on the fundamental right to control the decision making process within industry. In revolutionary Libya moves are well underway to ensure workers' control in industry. In a recent address in Tripoli, Muammer Qadhafi, Leader of the Revolution, spelled out the issues and pointed the way towards workers' emancipation. Report on page 12.

□ **CHAD CRISIS:** Attempts by the Organisation of African Unity to secure a settlement to the conflict in Chad have once again been undermined by the CIA financed leader Hissene Habre. The breakdown of the proposed OAU-sponsored peace conference in Addis Ababa was followed by renewed fighting in Chad. A special review of recent developments appears on pages 10 and 11.

□ **HERITAGE:** The World Heritage Committee, a specialised agency of UNESCO, has designated the ruined city of Cyrene in the Jamahiriya's Jebel Akhdar as a World Heritage Site. On page 14, DR ALAN GEORGE charts the rise and fall of the Greek city which is one of Libya's most spectacular historic treasures.

□ **DANISH TRADE:** Danish Housing Minister Neils Bollman recently visited Tripoli for talks aimed at bolstering the growing trade and other ties between Tripoli and Copenhagen. On page 16, ROBERT MILLER reviews Denmark's role in the Jamahiriya's development programme.

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Defeatism paves the way for US domination

EVER SINCE the 1948 war in Palestine, when the Zionists seized most of the country and expelled one million Arabs from their homes, the Palestinian people and the wider Arab nation have generally been united on the need to defeat Zionism and liberate the occupied Arab lands. Given the widespread Palestinian and Arab support for the struggle, no Arab regime dared to turn its back completely on the Palestinians. Even regimes which took few practical measures in support of the Palestinians did, at the very least, pay lip service to their cause.

This publicly stated official Arab support for their struggle offered hope to the dispossessed Palestinians. But there was another, and equally important benefit. The Zionist state of Israel depends for its political, economic and military well-being on the United States. This has meant that the Arabs have had no option but to keep America at arms' length, for fear of placing themselves in the embarrassing position of being in cahoots with the very country which has played a direct role in the oppression of the Palestinian people.

The result was that US influence in the Arab region remained restricted. This was an entirely healthy situation. Over many years the United States has demonstrated an endemic inability to deal with Third World peoples on the basis of mutual respect. As Muammer Qadhafi has frequently pointed out, Washington seeks only subservient allies, and will not tolerate independent action by smaller nations. Wherever a small country has shown reluctance to toe the American line, it has been treated by Washington as a bitter enemy. This all-or-nothing approach from the US has become particularly marked during the Reagan administration.

The first serious blow to the Arab consensus on Palestine came in the late 1970s, when the Sadat regime in Cairo chose to collaborate with the US-sponsored Camp David accords, providing for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt at the expense of Palestinian national rights. Camp David was a blessing for the Americans and their Zionist allies. While boosting US and Israeli influence, and with no concessions to the Palestinians, the accords at a stroke removed the most powerful Arab country from the confrontation. Released from the burden of defending their southern flank, the Zionists were able to launch new aggressions elsewhere. The Lebanon invasion of 1982 stemmed directly from Camp David. It would never have happened if Israel had had to take into account the possibility of retaliation by Egypt.

Nonetheless, the Arab nation and the wider Islamic world did take firm and effective action to limit the damage caused by Camp David. In 1979, following Sadat's conclusion of his peace treaty with the Zionist state, the Arab countries met in Baghdad and resolved to boycott Egypt. The Islamic Conference Organisation took similar measures, suspending Egypt from its ranks pending an abrogation of the Camp David agreements.

The most significant single factor dissuading western-orientated Arab and Islamic regimes from following in the steps of Sadat, however, has been the continued commitment of the Palestinian people and their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, to the defeat of Zionism. But over the past year there has been mounting evidence that elements within the PLO have grown weary of the struggle. Moreover, this lack of resolve has reached to the very top of the Palestinian liberation movement.

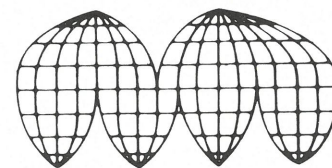
The focus for the defeatists within the PLO has been the 'peace plan' announced by President Reagan in September 1982. The Reagan plan offers the Palestinian people nothing more than Camp David. It calls for an Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and for the Arabs of these two Palestinian regions to have 'self-government in association with Jordan'. The scheme rules out the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and it rules out justice for the Palestinians whose homes and property lie in the 1948 occupied territories.

Despite this, the Reagan proposals have been welcomed by the PLO Chairman, Yasser Arafat, and he has continued to flirt with them despite the resolutions of the Palestine National Council (the Palestinian 'parliament') which declare that the US plan does not offer an adequate basis for a just and lasting peace. Arafat's attitude to the Reagan scheme and his apparent lack of commitment to the armed struggle against the Zionists were key factors in the rebellion which last year engulfed his Fatah resistance group.

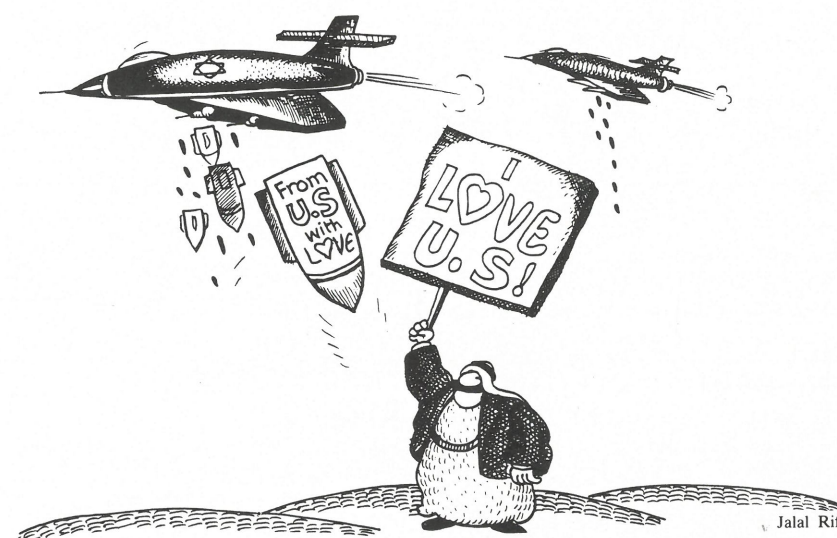
Following his defeat at the hands of the Fatah revolutionaries, however, Arafat has now decided to go it alone. Since his expulsion from Tripoli in northern Lebanon, he has single-mindedly sought to revive the Reagan plan. In December he took it upon himself to visit Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo, in flagrant violation of the Arab boycott and of PNC resolutions. Last month, at the Islamic Summit in Casablanca, Arafat played a leading role in efforts to secure Egypt's readmission to the Islamic Conference Organisation. A meeting between the PLO Chairman and Jordan's King Hussein is in the offing, at which it is expected that the Palestinian leader will delegate the monarch to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people.

Now that no less a person than Yasser Arafat has given his tacit approval to the Camp David and Reagan schemes, western-orientated Arab governments will feel more able to say in public what many have thought in private for years: that the Arab nation should come to terms with the Zionist state. This would in itself be a travesty of justice. But the fact that Arafat is acting in concert with the Americans makes the outlook particularly bleak. If Arafat, Hussein and Mubarak are allowed to pursue their schemes unhindered, the coming months will see an unprecedented increase in US influence in the Arab region, which will deprive generations of Arabs of their independence and dignity.

A monthly
review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review



UN mission harassed by petty restrictions

THE REAGAN administration has stepped up its harassment of Libyan citizens in the United States by imposing a set of petty restrictions on the Jamahiriya's diplomats at the UN headquarters in New York.

The restrictions relate to a property at Englewood, New Jersey, which the Jamahiriya purchased as a residence for its Permanent Representative at the UN, Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki. The US mission to the UN recently sent its Libyan counterpart a note stipulating that the property may be used only when Dr Treiki and/or his wife 'are physically present there', and that use was 'authorised for a maximum of two weekends a month'. Even then, a request must be filed with the US authorities 48 hours in advance for each weekend that Dr Treiki wishes to use the property.

In June last year, the Reagan administration had already stipulated that the Englewood residence could be used 'solely for recreational purposes' agreed in advance. At the time, Dr Treiki wrote to the UN Committee on Relations with the Host Country, the body which deals with any problems faced by UN diplomats in New York, saying that 'the Jamahiriya never imagined that the United States would interfere in the personal affairs of the Per-

manent Representatives to the world body'.

Calling for an urgent meeting of the Committee to consider the matter, Dr Treiki condemned the restrictions as 'a brazen infringement on and violation of the rights, privileges and immunities of a member state of the United Nations'.

The harassment of Libyan diplomats at the UN complements Reagan's intimidation of Libyan students at US universities. In March last year Washington barred Libyans from studying nuclear sciences and aviation-related subjects in the United States, as part of the overall US effort to sabotage Libya's development programme. Moreover, the US authorities are using the restriction to harass students who are not even studying the prohibited subjects. Last August, eight such Libyans were incarcerated in Florida's Krome detention camp on the direct orders of Secretary of State George Shultz, who claimed that they were 'security risks'.

Britain's Lebanon policy linked to NATO plans

BRITISH POLICY towards the Lebanese crisis, as spelled out by Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe during his recent tour of the Arab region, has been strongly criticised in the Jamahiriya, where the Mul-

tinational Force (MNF), installed in Beirut in 1982, is seen as a thinly-disguised attempt by western nations to boost their influence in the region.

The MNF comprises units from the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It was initially stationed in Beirut to protect defenceless Palestinian refugees, and to help the Lebanese government restore its authority on the ground. Increasingly, however, the MNF, and particularly the US and French contingents, have taken a direct role in the Lebanese civil war, turning their guns on Muslim and socialist opponents of the right wing regime of Amin Gemayel.

During a tour of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria in early January, Sir Geoffrey Howe reiterated that a key role of the MNF was to assist the Gemayel government, appearing to endorse the military aggressions of the US and French units. He added that the force should remain as long as was practicable.

Reviewing the Foreign Secretary's comments in its *Spotlights* programme on 14th January, Tripoli radio noted that the British Government 'on the whole adopts prejudiced stands, and in essence sympathises with the Zionist enemy and the American imperialist plan in the Arab area'. The commentary insisted that the deployment of the MNF in Beirut was 'fully compatible with NATO plans to tighten its grip on Lebanon and other Arab countries'.

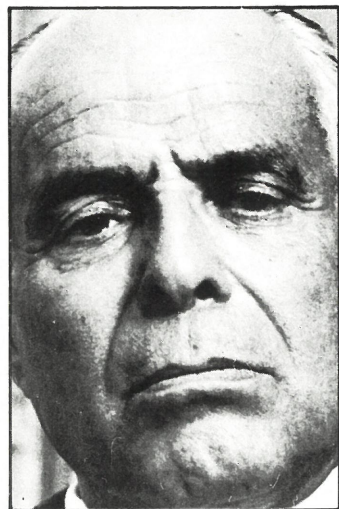
Reaffirming that Lebanon was a 'true Arab country whose people are being massacred under cover of the presence of the British, Ameri-

can and Zionist forces, and with their direct participation in this crime', Tripoli radio said that the continued presence of the foreign forces posed a 'threat of aggression not only against Lebanon, but against the entire Arab homeland'. Any call for the continued deployment of the forces 'by whatever pretext, is as bad as actual participation in the expected aggression, for which preparations are being made within the framework of the Western strategic plan against the Arabs'.

Tunisian unrest viewed with concern

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya followed with concern the wave of demonstrations which swept Tunisia last month, and has firmly denied suggestions that it was in any way involved in fomenting the unrest in its western neighbour. The return of normal conditions in Tunisia has been welcomed in Tripoli.

The tension in Tunisia was sparked by a 70 per cent increase in bread prices, imposed in an effort to balance the country's budget, and to reduce overseas borrowing. Angry demonstrations spread from southern regions to the capital, and about seventy people were killed and hundreds injured during the troubles. The situation was restored to normal on 6th January, when Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba cancelled the bread



President Bourguiba

price rises. In a further move to defuse tension, the Interior Minister, Idris Guega, who was responsible for the security services, handling of the demonstrations, was dismissed, and his portfolio was transferred to the Prime Minister, Muhammad M'zali.

Tripoli followed the events in Tunisia with concern, and on 5th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that Muammer Qadhafi had conferred by telephone with Mr M'zali, adding that similar contacts were under way between Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi and Tunisia's Foreign Minister, Mr Beji Caid Essebsi. JANA said that the contacts 'centred on the current events in Tunisia, and it had been agreed to increase the level of co-ordination and co-operation between the two countries in the light of the unfortunate circumstances in Tunisia'. JANA also revealed that a high-level Libyan delegation would visit Tunisia to discuss co-ordination measures.

One reason for Tripoli's concern was anxiety that hostile elements might seek to damage relations between the Jamahiriya and Tunisia by alleging that Libya was in some way encouraging the unrest. These fears were borne out on the night of 7th-8th January, when a Tunisian oil pipeline was sabotaged two kilometres from the Libyan border. Evidence at the site of the incident pointed to the saboteurs having come from the Jamahiriya.

On 13th January, however, the Tunisian daily *As Sabah* disclosed that the Jamahiriya had responded to a Tunisian memorandum on the incident with a firm denial of any complicity. Tripoli stressed that the vehicle used in the attack had been driven from Tunisia into the Jamahiriya, and then back across the border, in a bid to implicate Libya. *As Sabah* said that Libya had expressed a readiness to institute joint border patrols with Tunisia so as to prevent any repet-

ition of such incidents. Tripoli also offered to pay for repairs to the damaged oil pipeline, but stressed that this was 'not from any feelings of guilt, but to assist the Tunisian economy'.

The Jamahiriya also stressed that it did not consider the Tunisian memorandum on the incident to be an accusation of Libyan involvement, and that such acts of sabotage 'did nothing but harm to the warm and advanced relations between the two countries'.

In recent years, links between Tripoli and Tunis have become close. In January 1982 Muammer Qadhafi and Habib Bourguiba agreed to launch a project to harmonise the two countries' domestic and foreign policies, as the prelude to a full union. A Joint Committee was set up to examine practical unionist measures, and last July a joint meeting of the Tunisian cabinet and the General Popular Committee agreed to a comprehensive programme of bilateral co-operation.

Unity moves between the Arab countries of north west Africa have prompted alarm in Washington, which fears the implications for its regional influence of an independent and united bloc of Arab countries.

APC demands escalation of struggle

THE PERMANENT Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress (APC) ended its first session of 1984 in Tripoli on 17th January with a firm condemnation of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's recent talks in Cairo with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and a call for renewed efforts by the Arab nation to counter the western campaign to secure hegemony over the region.

The APC, which groups Arab individuals and non-governmental organisations committed to the cause of Palestinian and Arab liberation, issued a statement condemning Arafat's visit to Cairo as a 'stab in the back of the Palestinian people, their unity and their struggle'. It was also a 'breach of the Palestinian National Charter, of the resolutions of the 1979 Arab Summit in Baghdad, and of the Charter of the APC'. The APC added that Arafat's talks with Mubarak had been a major morale-booster for the Cairo Regime, which has been shunned by the Arab nation since it concluded its peace treaty with the Zionist state in 1979.

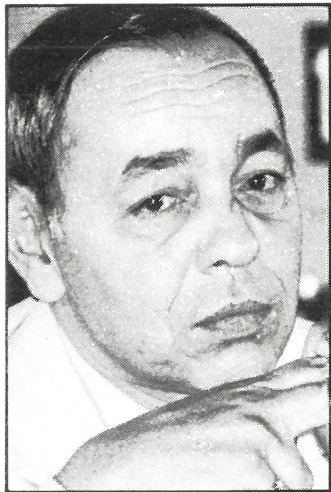
The APC stressed that the outcome of the crisis in Lebanon would have a direct bearing on the Palestinian cause, on Syria and on the Arab region as a whole, and the

APC statement called for the Lebanese nationalist forces to be provided with 'all the necessary forms of political, financial and military support in their struggle against the Zionist occupation and the United States military presence'.

As well as formulating strategic policy decisions on regional affairs, the APC Secretariat studied its draft programme for 1984, and approved a number of resolutions admitting a series of Arab students and women's organisations to APC membership.

Unity moves with Morocco as special committee meets

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has been playing a leading role in efforts to harmonise relations between the Arab countries of north west Africa, as a prelude to their eventual union. A major step in the process came last June, when Muammer Qadhafi visited Rabat for talks with King Hassan, at which the two countries agreed to work towards economic and political integration as part of wider moves leading to Maghreb and Arab unity.



King Hassan

The first concrete results of the talks came in August when a high-powered Libyan-Moroccan Joint Committee met in Tripoli and agreed a comprehensive co-operation programme. There have since been regular consultations at a high level between Libyan and Moroccan officials.

The Jamahiriya argues that the most practical way of harmonising domestic and foreign policies is through joint meetings of decision-making bodies, and Tripoli and Rabat are planning a

joint session of the General Popular Committee and the Moroccan cabinet. Already, the GPC has met jointly with the Algerian and Tunisian cabinets, and agreed wide-ranging co-operation measures.

On 22nd January a special committee met in Rabat to prepare for the impending joint session of the GPC and the Moroccan cabinet. The Moroccan side at the talks was headed by Mr Tajeb Bencheikh, the Minister Delegate in the Prime Minister's Office for Economic Affairs. At the head of the Libyan delegation was Mr Fawzi Shakshuki, the Jamahiriya's Planning Secretary, who in his opening address reaffirmed Libya's wish to bolster bilateral relations with Morocco and called in particular for an expansion of trade ties, oil industry co-operation, and the establishment of a joint company to oversee projects in the fields of construction, agriculture, fisheries, transport and communications.

The preparatory committee agreed to form five specialised sub-committees, to recommend practical unionist measures in the fields of social security and health; education, culture, information, youth and sports; joint investments; communications and posts; internal affairs, security, justice and national development. A sixth sub-committee was set up to prepare the minutes of the various committee meetings, and these will be submitted to the joint session of the GPC and the Moroccan cabinet.

Rome shooting: 'A cowardly crime'

LAST MONTH'S shooting of Mr Ammar Al Taggazy, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome, has been condemned by the Political Editor of the Jamahiriya news agency JANA as a sign of the 'cowardice and impotence' of the Al Fateh Revolution's enemies.

On 21st January, Mr Taggazy, who is married with several children, was shot by two gunmen who laid in wait for him outside the Rome apartment where he lived. One bullet lodged in his brain, and the Libyan Secretary was rushed to the city's Polytechnic for emergency surgery. The would-be assassins ran off after the shooting.

A representative of Italian President Pertini, and a Foreign Office Minister, visited the hospital to receive a detailed assessment from doctors of the Secretary's condition, and Italian authorities issued a statement abhorring the terrorist attack and pledging that the perpetrators would be pursued and arrested.

In a commentary on 23rd Janu-

ary, the JANA Political Editor linked the attack on Mr Taggazy with the Jamahiriya's firm and principled stand against US-inspired schemes to impose an unjust settlement of the Arab-Zionist conflict. The commentary referred to Mr Taggazy as 'one of the Libyans who supported the Palestinian cause and refused to surrender'.

Aid for Ghanaian development eases crisis

EVER SINCE the Ghanaian Revolution toppled the corrupt regime of Hilla Limann on New Year's Day 1982, the Libyan Jamahiriya has been providing development assistance to the Ghanaian people, in an effort to ease their country's economic difficulties. The significance of the Libyan aid programme was last month highlighted by Mr Kwesi Botchway, Ghana's Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, in an address on Accra radio, in which he reviewed the country's economic progress. In 1982, he said, a severe drought, serious foreign exchange shortages and low productivity had combined to reduce national output. But he added that 'without the \$95.8 million interest-free credit we received from Libya in 1982, the economic performance would have been worse still'.

In addition to credit, the Jamahiriya has provided Ghana with subsidised oil, and with emergency food and medical supplies.

Ankara seminar on Third Universal Theory

THE GUIDING principles of the Al Fateh Revolution have been brought together in the Third Universal Theory, which advocates nationalist, socialist and Islamic policies at home, and policies of independence and non-alignment overseas. The growing world interest in the Theory was confirmed on 15th January when the Ankara-based Libyan-Turkish Brotherhood Society staged a special symposium on the economic aspects of the Theory, attended by academics and economists. The Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that also under discussion were 'the historic relations linking the Libyan Arab and Turkish peoples, and means of bolstering bilateral relations'.



Arab champion: Gamal Abdul Nasser's birthday marked with celebrations in the Jamahiriya

Student martyrs did not die in vain

IN THE dying years of the monarchy which ruled Libya from the time of nominal independence in 1951 until the Al Fateh Revolution in 1969, the Libyan people were growing increasingly restless at the policies of the western-backed regime. Repeatedly, their anger exploded into angry street demonstrations, which the regime's security apparatus countered with bullets and batons.

In one such demonstration, on 13th-14th January 1964, the police opened fire at point-blank range on students, killing several and wounding many more. In revolutionary Libya, the demonstration is remembered as the Students' Uprising, and last month Libyans marked its Twentieth Anniversary with a series of marches and rallies in the country's major towns and villages.

On 14th January Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, addressed the student marchers in Tripoli and in the coastal town of Zawiya, to the west of the Libyan capital, and affirmed that those gunned down in 1964 had not died in vain. The revolution for which they hoped

had finally triumphed. Brigadier Jaber pointed to the self-sacrifice of the student martyrs as an example to be followed, stressing that today's students had a key role to play in freeing the Arab nation from foreign domination.

A highlight of the anniversary celebrations was the unveiling at Benghazi's Martyrs of January Secondary School of a memorial commemorating those who fell in the 1964 Students' Uprising. The memorial bears the inscription: 'The heroes of history are those who sacrifice all for the sake of a cause.'

The Students' Uprising was also celebrated by Libyans overseas, and in London students at the Jamahiriya School in Chelsea organised a special festival to mark the occasion.

International Platform meets in Tripoli

THE GENERAL Secretariat of the International Platform against Imperialism, Zionism, Racism and Reaction concluded its first meeting of 1984 in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, on 13th January. Few details of the session were released, but the Jamahiriya news agency

JANA said that the meeting had approved 'measures which will enable the world's revolutionary forces and progressive countries to adopt a policy of 'direct attack' against their enemies'.

The International Platform was set up in Tripoli in 1982, in accordance with a resolution of the 1981 International Conference in Solidarity with the Libyan People, convened after US naval forces violated Libyan territorial waters in the Gulf of Sirte and attacked Libyan fighter planes. The Platform co-ordinates assistance to liberation movements in all parts of the world.

Co-operation with Malaysia

MALAYSIA'S MINISTER of Culture, Youth and Sports, Mr Anwar Ibrahim, has been holding a series of meetings with Libyan officials in Tripoli, aimed at bolstering relations between the Malaysian and Libyan peoples. On 22nd January Mr Ibrahim conferred with Muammer Qadhafi and, in a separate meeting, with Mr Abdel Hafiz az Zulaiyini, the Jamahiriya's Education Secretary.

The day before, the Malaysian Minister held talks with Dr Muhammad Ahmad ash Sharif, Secretary of the Tripoli-based Islamic Call Society and of the International Islamic Call Council, both of which are Islamic missionary bodies. The Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that the discussions centred on 'methods of enhancing co-operation between the Islamic Call Society and Islamic Centres in Malaysia'.

Nasser's birthday celebrated

LIBYANS ON 15th January celebrated the birthday of the late Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was the Arab region's leading champion of liberation and unity until his untimely death in 1970. Nasser's ideals have deeply influenced progressive movements throughout the Arab homeland, and are the inspiration for the Jamahiriya's Al Fateh Revolution.

Nasser was succeeded as President by Anwar Sadat, who gradually changed Egyptian policies from non-alignment between the superpowers to close alliance with the United States. As part of this process, Sadat signed the US-sponsored Camp David accords and concluded the ensuing peace treaty with the Zionist state. His policies were fiercely resisted by



Defending freedom: Libyan women seek greater access to military colleges

the Egyptian people, and in January 1977 angry street demonstrations erupted in Egyptian cities in protest at Sadat's betrayal of Nasser's ideals.

On 20th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that the anniversary of the protests had been marked at a rally staged in Tripoli's People's Hall, attended by representatives of Arab nationalist groups. One of these was the Egyptian National Front, headed by General Sa'ad Shazli, former Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, who was sacked from his post in one of Sadat's purges. JANA said that speakers at the Tripoli rally condemned the Sadat and Mubarak regimes for their 'capitulationist and defeatist policies', and affirmed that 'one day the Egyptian people would rise again with the fury of Nasser'.

Women demand military training

HUNDREDS OF Libyan women staged a march on the Girls Military Academy in Tripoli on 22nd January, to reaffirm their right to military training and to protest at reactionary attitudes amongst men, which have hindered women's access to the country's military colleges.

In Libya, national defence is seen as a duty for both men and women, and both sexes are engaged in comprehensive military training programmes as part of the preparations for the establishment of the 'armed people' — a defensive system which will entail the abolition of the regular army and its replacement with a force comprising the population as a whole. The Libyan people have responded enthusiastically to the military training programmes, but in Libya, as in other countries, old attitudes

die hard, and some Libyans have clung to outdated theories which assert that a woman's place is in the home and that weapons training should be the exclusive prerogative of men.

On 23rd January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that the girls were demonstrating in Tripoli 'to express their readiness to volunteer for military training and to enlist in military academies to serve the Libyan Arab Armed Forces'. The students declared their 'readiness to defend freedom and carry arms side by side with men'.

The demonstrators also sent a message to Muammer Qadhafi affirming that Libyan women had a central role to play in the liberation of women worldwide, and that they would 'not compromise their principles, dignity and freedom'.

Jerba Declaration Anniversary

THE LIBYAN people have reaffirmed their commitment to Arab unity by celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the Jerba Declaration, which was intended to pave the way for unity between Libyan and its western neighbour, Tunisia. The Declaration was signed on 12th January 1974 by Muammer Qadhafi and President Habib Bourguiba, at a meeting on the Tunisian island of Jerba. It provided for the merger of the two countries into a single country, to be named the Arab Islamic Republic, with one constitution, a single army, and a single legislative, executive and judicial system.

In the event, the scheme lapsed, but in his address marking the Ninth Anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution on 1st September 1978, Muammer Qadhafi referred

to the Jerba Declaration, saying: 'We stand here today with many useful experiences behind us. Some may be bitter, but they demonstrate that the Revolution is working towards the unity of the Arab nation.' He added that despite its failure, the Tripoli-Tunis merger scheme had 'helped to bring nearer the day of Arab unity'.

Palestine Revolution marks 19th anniversary

THE PALESTINIAN Revolution began in January 1965, when the Fatah Palestinian resistance organisation staged its first military operation against the Zionists, and on 8th January thousands of Palestinians and Libyans marked the Revolution's Nineteenth Anniversary with a rally at Tripoli's Rajab Okashe complex.

Speakers included Mr Ali Balkhair, Assistant Secretary of the General People's Congress, a representative of the New Revolutionary Movement within Fatah, and a delegation from the Arab People's Congress, which links Arab individuals and non-governmental organisations committed to Arab nationalist goals.

Mr Balkhair reaffirmed that armed struggle was the only effective way to liberate Palestine, and that the US-sponsored Camp David process, under which Egypt made peace with the Zionist state, entailed a sell-out of Palestinian national rights.

Mr Balkhair's message was echoed by the APC representative, who condemned December's meeting in Cairo between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak. He warned that Jordan and Egypt, in conjunction with Arafat, were

preparing to implement the 'peace plan' announced by President Reagan in 1982.

The Reagan plan denies the Palestinian people their internationally-endorsed rights to self-determination and statehood. It calls on the Arabs to accept the legitimacy of the Zionist state within its 1967 frontiers, and it provides for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip to have 'self-government in association with Jordan'. The plan is a development of the Camp David accords, which provided for Palestinian 'autonomy' within the 1967 occupied territories, and for the final status of these Arab lands to be determined in negotiations between the Zionists, Egypt, Jordan and Palestinian representatives from the West Bank. The recent reconvening of the Jordanian Parliament, with delegates from the West Bank, indicates that Jordan is moving to play its appointed role in the Reagan scheme. Talks between King Hussein and Yasser Arafat are in the offing, at which it is expected that the PLO Chairman will allow Hussein to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians. The Arafat-Mubarak meeting in December was thought to have centred on Egypt's role in the overall scheme.

Arafat's support for the Reagan plan was a key factor in the rebellion which engulfed his Fatah resistance organisation last year, and which ended in victory for Fatah's New Revolutionary Movement. At the Tripoli rally, the Movement's Representative reaffirmed that the Palestinian people were determined not to surrender, and would 'escalate their armed struggle against the Zionists until the total liberation of Palestine'.

The Libyan Jamahiriya firmly opposes the Camp David and Reagan schemes, and closely co-ordinates its policies with other countries and groups which remain faithful to the cause of Palestinian liberation. This was highlighted last month, when Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud paid a week's visit to Damascus, where he conferred with Syrian President Hafez al Assad, with Mr Khalid Fahum, Speaker of the Palestine National Council (the Palestinian 'parliament'), with Abu Musa and Abu Salih, who are leaders of the Fatah New Revolutionary Movement, with members of the PLO's Executive Committee, and with officials from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front.

Major Jalloud also held talks with leading members of the Lebanese National Salvation Front, which links Lebanese groups opposed to the continued Israeli occupation of the country, and to the presence of NATO forces in Beirut.

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has expressed deep reservations at a decision of the Islamic Conference Organisation (ICO) to invite Egypt to rejoin, after a five-year membership suspension imposed after the Sadat regime concluded the Camp David peace treaty with the Zionist state. Tripoli insists that Egyptian readmission should come only if Cairo repudiates the treaty, and fears that the ICO decision will be the prelude to efforts to readmit Egypt to the Arab League. Cairo's membership of the pan-Arab body was also suspended following the conclusion of the treaty with Israel.

The decision to invite Egypt to rejoin the ICO was announced on 19th January, at the end of a four-day Islamic Summit meeting in the Moroccan city of Casablanca. The moves to readmit Egypt were reportedly spearheaded by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, who in December paid a surprise visit to Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in Cairo, in defiance of the Arab boycott of Egypt, imposed by the Baghdad summit in 1979. Cairo's readmission was also strongly backed by western-orientated governments, suggesting that Washington supported the move to reduce the regional isolation of one of its principal client states.

The Libyan Jamahiriya and other progressive Arab countries strongly opposed Egyptian readmission to the ICO. Addressing the Casablanca summit on 18th January, Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud, who headed the Libyan delegation, declared that it would be nonsensical to readmit Egypt while the Cairo regime followed policies which directly conflicted with ICO decisions, and which had been the cause of Egypt's membership suspension in the first place. 'The Islamic Conference's resolution to suspend Egypt's membership was the result of specified factors', he noted, and the suspension should therefore not be lifted 'before the removal of these factors'. He added: 'It is ridiculous to argue that we should bring Egypt back into Islam's fold, and then ask for it to rectify its policies. If we invite Egypt back, we would automatically be condoning Egypt's actions, and its submission to Israel.' It would be wrong, he stressed, for 'those who sold out the Islamic cause to be rewarded'.

Strategic objective

Major Jalloud pointed out that the moves to readmit Egypt to the ICO coincided with efforts by some parties to end Egypt's suspension from the Arab League, and to end the collective Arab boycott of Cairo. The strategic objective of these moves was not merely to end Egypt's international isolation, but to 'give Camp David legitimacy by Arabising it'.

He stressed that the Jamahiriya would remain faithful to the Palestinian people's struggle to gain their national rights, declaring: 'We will not support any move to sell out the Palestinian people. The issue of Palestine lies at the heart of Arab nation-



Principled stand: Staff Major Jalloud warns against Islamic retreat over Egypt's membership

Casablanca Summit hears the Libyan case

DEBATES AT the recent Islamic Summit in Casablanca centred on moves to readmit Egypt to the Islamic Conference Organisation, from which it was suspended following the Cairo-Tel Aviv peace treaty. As Ali Aziz reports, the Libyan Jamahiriya was amongst those countries which firmly opposed moves to bring Egypt back into the Islamic fold.

alism. Arab lands are occupied by Israel, and must be liberated. And this liberation will not be achieved by making deals with the enemy, at the expense of Palestinian rights, in the manner of Egypt, and in the way that Jordan is now contemplating'.

Major Jalloud reaffirmed the Jamahiriya's position at a press conference in Casablanca, reported by the Jamahiriya news agency JANA on 23rd January. He insisted that 'we will not allow the Camp David accords to be Arabised, and we will stand together with Syria, the Palestinian resistance and the Arab nation to counter the Reagan scheme'.

Major Jalloud was referring to the 'peace plan' announced by the US President in September 1982, which calls on the Arabs to acquiesce in the Zionists' occupation of the Palestinian lands seized in 1948. The plan rules out the establishment of an independent Palestinian state even in the 1967 occupied territories, and provides merely for the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to be given 'self-government in association with Jordan'. In essence, Reagan's

plan calls for a peace treaty between Jordan and the Zionists, at the cost of Palestinian national rights to self-determination and statehood, and there are ominous signs that Yasser Arafat is moving to collaborate in the US scheme, in conjunction with King Hussein of Jordan and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak.

Resolutions

Confirming that Yasser Arafat had been 'leading the campaign within the Islamic Conference for the return of Egypt', Major Jalloud said that the PLO Chairman's moves had not only violated Islamic and Arab summit decisions, but also contravened the resolutions of last year's meeting in Algiers of the Palestine National Council (the Palestinian 'parliament'). These required the PLO to reject all 'peace plans' which ignored the internationally-endorsed rights of the Palestinian people, and specifically named the Reagan and Camp David schemes.

The strong opposition to Egyptian readmission to the ICO by the Libyan Jamahiriya and other countries clearly played a part in thwarting the hopes of western-backed regimes for an immediate and unconditional end to Cairo's suspension. The summit's final communique said that the ICO had resolved to invite Egypt to rejoin, but it made no mention of any conditions. Later, however, Morocco's King Hassan confirmed newspaper reports that Egypt would first have to agree 'to adhere to the principles, rules and decisions of the ICO', and to a repudiation of Camp David.

The summit named a committee, comprising the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan, Guinea and Iraq, and the ICO Secretary General, Habib Chatti, to visit Cairo to ascertain Mubarak's response. The chances of Egyptian acquiescence are slim: Cairo has publicly declared that it will accept nothing less than an unconditional return to the ICO.

Habre sabotages Chad peace conference

HISSENE HABRE, head of the illegal regime in the Chadian capital of N'Djamena, last month sabotaged the best chance in years of bringing a negotiated settlement to the long-running Chadian civil war, when he refused to attend reconciliation talks between all the Chad factions, organised in Addis Ababa by the Organisation of African Unity. Habre claimed that he stayed away because of the high-level reception given by Ethiopian leaders to President Goukouni Oueddei, who heads the legitimate Chadian Government of Unity and National Transition (GUNT), which links most of the Chadian groups. But the real cause of Habre's refusal to attend appears to have been his intransigent rejection of any compromise solution to the Chadian conflict.

The OAU has consistently argued that peace in Chad depends on an end to foreign military intervention, and on a reconciliation between the warring Chadian factions. The two key protagonists in the current round of fighting are the GUNT, which links most of the Chadian groups, and the illegal regime of Hissene Habre. GUNT was originally formed in August 1979, when all the Chadian factions met in the Nigerian capital, Lagos, under OAU auspices, and agreed to set up a government in which all would be represented. Goukouni Oueddei became President, and Hissene Habre was appointed as Premier and Defence Minister.

Shortly after, however, Habre staged a rebellion against his own government, in a bid to impose personal control over the country. In 1981 President Oueddei called in Libyan forces to help quell the rebellion. Having achieved their mission, the Libyan units were withdrawn, at President Oueddei's request. The Chadian government forces were left dangerously exposed, and

AN OAU-sponsored conference of all the factions in the Chadian civil war, scheduled to convene in Addis Ababa last month to forge a peace settlement, was sabotaged when Hissene Habre, head of the N'Djamena regime, refused to attend. Robert Miller examines Habre's role in prolonging the Chad conflict.

Habre renewed his rebellion from bases in Sudan, with assistance from the CIA which has since been admitted in Washington. In May 1982, he succeeded in gaining control of the capital.

Counter offensive

The GUNT forces regrouped in the north, and last year launched a major counter-offensive against the rebel regime of Hissene Habre. A series of GUNT victories prompted Habre to call in military forces from Zaire, France and the United States to prop up his regime. The situation has since stabilised, with GUNT in control of the northern half of the country, and Habre and his western backers in tenuous occupation of the capital and the south.

Last year, Ethiopia, the current Chairman of the OAU, launched a major diplomatic initiative to bring a durable settlement in Chad, based on reconciliation between all the Chadian factions. After

lengthy preparations, agreement was finally reached on convening a reconciliation conference in Addis Ababa, to be attended by all the Chadian groups and to open on 9th January.

President Oueddei arrived in Addis Ababa for the talks on 8th January, to a high-level welcome from the Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam. The *Times* quoted sources in the Ethiopian capital as saying that the ceremony was 'half way between that reserved for a visiting head of state and an ex-incumbent', and that this had been a formula 'agreed upon by the OAU in advance'. Hissene Habre, however, seized upon this warm welcome for his rival as a pretext for staying away, asserting that the high-level reception for Goukouni Oueddei undermined his own claim to the Chadian Presidency. He conveniently overlooked the fact that the whole point of the conference was to forge a workable political settlement, entailing a process of compromise between the factions.

Habre instead delegated his Minister of Interior and Security, Taher Guinassou, to represent his regime at the Addis Ababa conference, but it was clear that the meeting would only succeed if all the key protagonists were present in person. Goukouni Oueddei had in fact insisted on a face-to-face meeting with Hissene Habre. The appointment of Mr Guinassou was seen as a deliberate act of sabotage, and the tactic worked: after four days of separate meetings with the various Chadian groups, the OAU Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam was forced to concede failure. On 13th January he announced that the conference had failed to convene, and he placed responsibility on Hissene Habre, saying that the N'Djamena regime had demonstrated its reluctance to meet its opponents by its persistent emphasis on 'marginal and protocol issues'.

The mysterious death of a Vice President

MYSTERY SURROUNDS the sudden death on 7th January of Hissene Habre's Vice President and Foreign Minister, Idriss Miskine. The official cause of death was given as an acute attack of malaria, but the day before, Habre's closest aide had given a press conference in N'Djamena at which he had appeared to be in the best of health; and he had no history of malaria.

Mr Miskine had been closely involved in the convening of the Addis Ababa reconciliation conference, and there was

speculation that his death was linked with the imminent peace talks. Habre is firmly opposed to reconciliation in Chad, insisting on maintaining his illegal regime, with the help of foreign military forces. In contrast, Idriss Miskine was reportedly a strong advocate of national reconciliation. The two men were said to have quarrelled bitterly over the convening of the Addis Ababa conference.

Mr Miskine's death was the subject of a commentary on 10th January by Radio Bardai, which broadcasts from the north Chadian town which President Oueddei

has made his temporary headquarters. The radio referred to a 'secret quarrel' which was brewing between Habre and Miskine over the 'path to adopt to overcome the political and military stalemate' in Chad. Idriss Miskine had been a 'supporter of a peaceful solution to the Chad conflict', and the radio said that it was possible that his death had been the result of a 'power struggle' between the two men, implying that Habre might have murdered Miskine in a move to undermine the chances for a successful outcome to the Addis Ababa conference.

AFTER A prolonged lull in the Chadian civil war, fighting flared again last month, following the breakdown of a reconciliation conference in Addis Ababa, sponsored by the Organisation of African Unity (see separate report). After a major victory by the forces of the legitimate Government of Unity and National Transition (GUNT) over the troops of the western-backed regime of Hissene Habre, France reinforced its military presence in Chad, and ordered its ground forces to advance into the northern regions which have been liberated by GUNT. President Goukouni Oueddei responded with a warning that his government had invited the Jamahiriya to intervene directly to counter the French aggression.

Last year GUNT forces launched a major offensive against the illegal Habre regime, which called in military units from France, Zaire and the United States to ward off defeat. The fighting ended in a stalemate, with Habre and his backers occupying the capital, N'Djamena, and the south, and GUNT in control of the north. Dividing the two regions was a 'red line' manned by French troops.

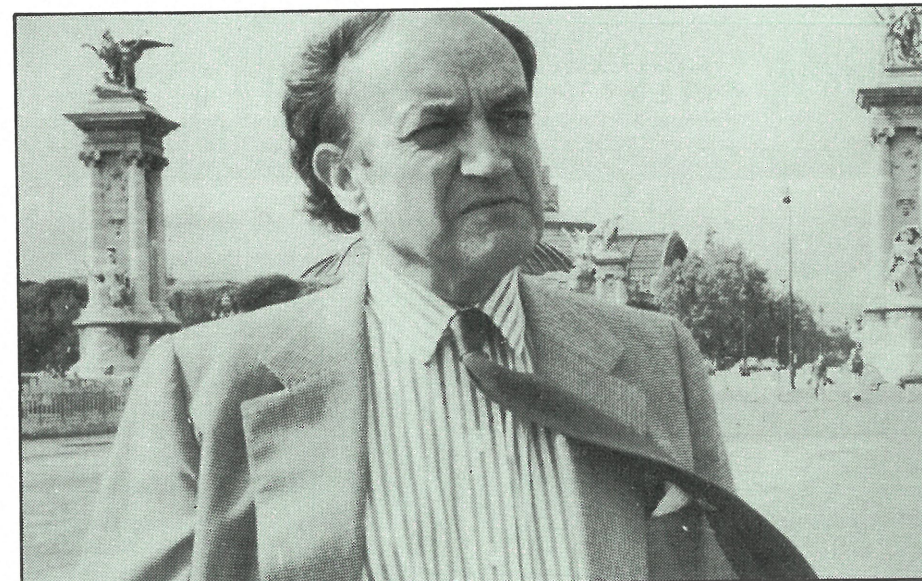
GUNT has consistently argued that peace will come to Chad only through reconciliation between all the warring factions, and co-operated fully in the OAU's efforts to convene the Addis Ababa peace conference. Hissene Habre and his western backers, however, are determined to impose their writ on the Chadian people, and have rejected any negotiated compromise with their opponents. Habre deliberately sabotaged the OAU conference, leaving GUNT with no option but to attempt to break the Chadian stalemate by renewing its armed liberation struggle.

On 24th January a GUNT column of twenty vehicles penetrated the French 'red line' to attack a position of Habre's forces at Ziguey, a mere three hundred kilometres from N'Djamena. Thirty of Habre's men were killed, and thirteen were captured, along with an American military adviser. The following day, French warplanes from the Chad capital bombed and strafed the GUNT column. A French Jaguar plane was shot down and its pilot killed. A Mirage fighter was also hit, but managed to limp back to base.

Complicity

The successful GUNT raid at Ziguey prompted the familiar charges of Libyan complicity in the Chadian civil war. On 26th January the French Foreign Ministry declared that 'Libya appears to bear the responsibility'. This theme was echoed in the western media. The same day as the French statement, the *Daily Express* blandly referred to a clash between 'Libyan and French forces'. In an editorial on 30th January the *Daily Telegraph* asserted that 'Libya and its allied faction may have now as many as 8,000 men deployed in the north'.

The reality is very different. The Libyan



Tripoli talks: French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson held talks on Chadian developments with Libyan officials in Tripoli in early February

France prepares for new offensive

THE CHADIAN civil war flared again last month, following the breakdown of an OAU-sponsored peace conference in Addis Ababa. A special correspondent examines the recent developments and Libya's view of the conflict on its southern border.

Jamahiriya has repeatedly denied that it has any military forces in Chad, and none has ever been sighted by reliable independent witnesses. The Libyan position appears to be accepted in private even in Paris. On 27th January the *Financial Times* quoted French officials as saying that 'they were unsure whether Libyan troops accompanied' the GUNT force which attacked Ziguey.

Tripoli considers the conflict in Chad to be a civil war, and insists that foreign intervention has merely exacerbated and prolonged the fighting. The Jamahiriya has frequently pointed to the hypocrisy of those who use an imaginary Libyan presence as the pretext for their own blatant intervention in the conflict. Moreover, the Jamahiriya has steadfastly refrained from becoming directly involved, but it does view with concern the growing western military presence along its southern frontiers. Given the history of United States aggression along the Libyan coast, Tripoli understandably suspects that Washington and Paris are fanning the flames of the Chad war

in a bid to secure permanent military bases from which to threaten Libya's independence and territorial integrity.

Following the loss of its Jaguar warplane, France ordered its troops in Chad to advance 125 kilometres north, to a new line stretching from the towns of Koro-Toro to Oum Chalouba. At the same time, French air power in Chad was more than tripled by the despatch to N'Djamena of more Jaguars, Mirages and Breguet-Atlantic reconnaissance planes.

The beefing-up of French forces, and the establishment of the new red line was seen as a major turning point in French strategy. Initially, the French, US and Zairean intervention was designed to save the Habre regime from certain defeat by GUNT. Now, France and its allies have moved onto the offensive, and are poised to launch a major campaign to destroy the forces of the legitimate Chadian government.

GUNT responded to the French moves by reaffirming its commitment to the liberation of Chad, and by warning that it might request direct military assistance from the Jamahiriya to block the French offensive. Declaring that France could expect an 'appropriate response' to its advance, President Goukouni Oueddei revealed that he had asked Libya to prepare for direct intervention, under defence agreements signed between his government and Tripoli before Habre's seizure of the Chadian capital in 1982. Mr Oueddei said that he saw 'no alternative but to reply to violence with violence'.

On 31st January the *Guardian* quoted a Libyan spokesman in Paris, who disclosed that the Jamahiriya was 'seriously considering a request by Mr Goukouni for arms and equipment to meet the French advance'.

The way to workers' liberation

THE AL Fateh Revolution insists that workers' liberation depends on the abolition of employers, and of the wage-labour system through which employers exercise political and economic control over their work-forces. In a recent address in Tripoli, revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi spelled out the issues, and pointed the way to workers' emancipation.

THE FUNDAMENTAL imbalance of power between workers and their employers – where these are governments or individual capitalists – has been unaffected by changes in the ownership of the means of production, by increases in wages, or by schemes allowing a measure of workers' participation in decision-making. The only effective remedy is the abolition of employers and of the wage-labour system, and the imposition of comprehensive and direct workers' control, with every worker benefitting directly from the fruits of his labours, and playing a personal role in the administration of his work-place. This was the key message of revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi, in an address to the Sixth Arab Conference on Workers' Culture, staged in Tripoli in December.

Wage labour lay at the heart of the exploitative economic relations which prevail in all countries, whether capitalist or communist, Muammer Qadhafi explained, and it was the control of wages which enabled employers to control their workers, denying them any effective say in the running of their enterprises. Meaningful change would come only when the distinction between those who pay wages, and those who receive them, was abolished: 'only when the workers instead become partners, without employers of any kind'.

Traditionally, said the Libyan leader, trade unions had directed all their efforts towards improving the incomes and conditions of their members. All this, however, missed the real point, and amounted to a 'deceit of the workers'. No matter how high their incomes, 'workers will be doomed to serfdom' so long as they remained subject to the control of employers through the wage labour system. To urge workers to improve their conditions and wages was

merely an encouragement to them 'to improve their lot as serfs'. The real struggle was instead for a radical change in the organisation of the economic system itself, the Libyan leader continued, and the objective should be a new system in which workers took a direct share in the products of their labour and had a meaningful say in the administration of their places of work. The route to workers' emancipation lay in 'closing the door of wage increases and improvements in the social and economic conditions of the workers'.

Although expressing respect for the achievements of trade unionists, Muammer Qadhafi declared that in most instances they had in reality 'betrayed their members'. Often, trade unions merely organised their members 'for the benefit of a union leader, for the prestige of the wider trade union movement, or in order to bring pressure on governments'.

Direct democracy

Under Libya's *jamahiri* system of direct democracy, the people as a whole determine their affairs directly through a country-wide network of Basic People's Congresses, open to all citizens. There is no government in any traditional sense of the word. Reaffirming his opposition to all formal governmental systems, Muammer Qadhafi declared that in many countries trade unions in effect functioned as subsidiary governments: 'I do not believe in any form of government, no matter how democratic it claims to be, and I consider trade unions to be a form of secondary government, ruling the workers.'

It was vital, he continued, for workers to understand that their salvation lay in their own hands, and not in traditional trade union movements. No-one could liberate the workers except themselves, and this required an understanding on their part of their status as an exploited class, a realisation that the delegation of their authority to trade unions was a fraud, and that they should be partners in production, and not mere wage earners. The challenge of workers' education, said Colonel Qadhafi, was to encourage an awakening by the workers. If workers' educational programmes continued to emphasise the issues of wages and conditions, rather than the exploitative nature of the wage-labour system, then the workers would 'merely be deceived with false education'.

Nor had the workers' participation schemes introduced in some countries addressed the basic problem. There was simply no need for workers to share their political and economic rights with their employers. 'I reject workers' participation in management and profits,' declared the Libyan leader. 'Management should be solely in the hands of the workers, and not the prerogative of a special group.' The working classes, he continued, were 'not a flock of sheep to be managed by a superior group.'

Workers are human beings, and they should exercise exclusive control over their places of work, and directly benefit from their efforts.'

The common problem with workers' participation schemes and with trade union campaigns to improve their members' wages and conditions, was that both

accepted implicitly the existence of an employer class. There should in fact be no such group to whom the workers should hand over part of their wealth and authority.

The progress that has been achieved in improving workers' wages and conditions, and in increasing their participation in decision-making, was welcome so far as it went, but had not affected the central issue, Muammer Qadhafi averred. 'All the campaigns which concentrated on wages have been far removed from providing a solution to the key problem of exploitation. They have been merely devious reforms, closer to charity than to any recognition of, or any respect for, the true political and economic rights of workers,' declared the Libyan leader.

The ownership of the means of production had no direct bearing on the basic problem of exploitative relationships in the work-place, Muammer Qadhafi stressed. It was through the wage-labour system, rather than ownership, that workers were denied their rights to democratic control of their enterprises and to the full material fruits of their labour. 'The producers have remained wage earners, whether ownership of the means of production has been in the hands of the extreme political right, the extreme left, or by any groups at the political centre'. A change of ownership 'does not in itself solve the issue of the worker's right to the fruits of his labour'.

Solution

The Libyan leader drew an analogy between the oppression of workers by employers, through the wage-labour system, and the exploitation of peoples by governments. There was, he said, a continuing need for peoples to exercise direct, meaningful democracy, and he noted that even where revolutions had been staged in the name of the people, governments had emerged which 'killed the revolution, and then turned into an oppressive tool'. The solution, he stressed, 'is not the election of a traditional government, but the abolition of all the power structures which intervene to prevent the people as a whole from determining their own affairs'.

In the same way, workers should manage their own affairs without the intervention of employers. Factories and other ventures should be organised along the lines of a Basic People's Congress, Muammer Qadhafi urged. All the workers at a particular plant should form the sole decision-making body. They should elect a workers' committee from amongst themselves, which would administer the plant, but remain directly accountable, on a day-to-day basis, to the body of workers as a whole.

He concluded: 'The people should exercise power directly, and the workers should exercise power directly by running the factories themselves, and receiving a direct share in the fruits of their labour. In short, workers should become partners, not wage-earners.'

Workers celebrate their freedom

THE ABOLITION of employers and of the wage-labour system in the Jamahiriya's factories and other productive enterprises, and the introduction of direct workers' control, has been under way since September 1978, and is being gradually extended to new factories.

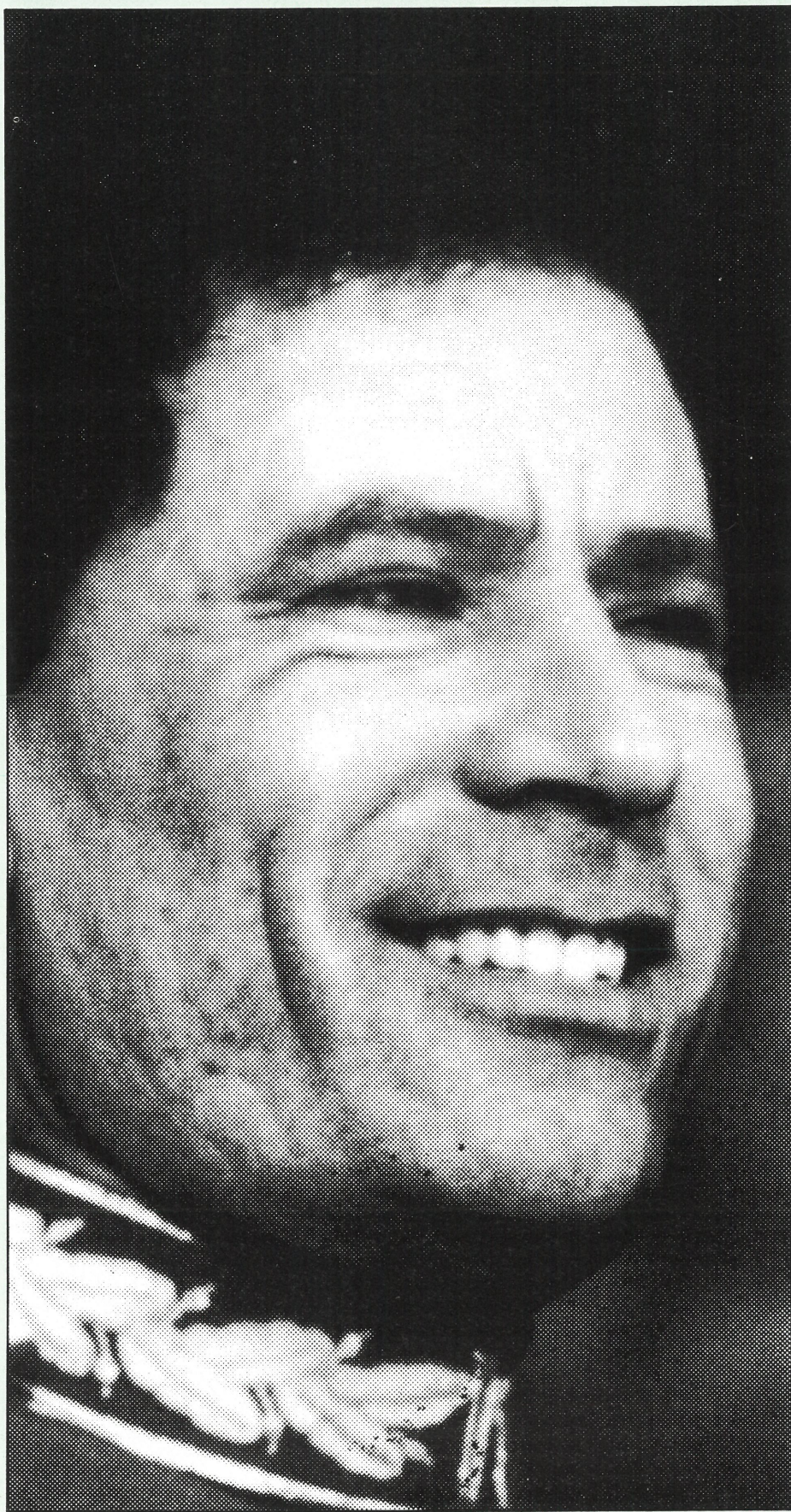
On 16th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that the introduction of workers' control at the National Company for Tiles and Construction Materials and at the Paint Production Company had been marked at a ceremony attended by the Secretary General of the General Secretariat of the Jamahiriya's workers' congresses. The congresses link all the workers in a particular sector of the economy.

In plants where full workers' control has been instituted, workers annually divide between themselves the surplus income of their factories, and JANA announced that celebrations were last month under way throughout the Jamahiriya as these production shares were distributed. One such share-out, by workers at the National Company for

Aluminium and Household Goods in Tripoli, was marked on 15th January by a ceremony attended by the Secretary General of the General Secretariat of workers' congresses.

In an address to the workers, the Secretary General affirmed that 'what we are witnessing is the realisation of the socialist ideals of the AL Fateh Revolution, which confirm the people's ownership of the means of production, and their final deliverance from the slavery of wages and domination by employers, whether these are individuals or governments'.

He stressed that the transformation of workers from wage-earners into partners entailed much more than a legal change in the workers' status, or an increase in their incomes. Nor was it merely a new method of organising workers, within traditional frameworks of management. It was rather 'a radical and comprehensive change in economic and social concepts', and provided an example for the workers of the world to follow. A similar revolution, he declared, was 'the only way that they can realise their social, political and economic liberation'.





King Arcesilas of Cyrene supervising the weighing of the precious commodity silphium, depicted on a sixth century painting

The story of Cyrene

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is renowned for the three spectacular ruined classical cities of Leptis Magna, Sabratha and Cyrene, and in late 1982 their international significance was endorsed by the United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, when UNESCO's World Heritage Committee added them to its World Heritage List. Sites in the list are defined as having 'cultural and natural properties considered to be of outstanding universal value and, by virtue of this quality, especially worth safeguarding for future generations'.

The World Heritage Committee is charged with administering the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 1972 and came into effect in 1975. By the end of 1981, 61 UN member states, including the Libyan Jamahiriya, had ratified or accepted the Convention.

The duties of the World Heritage Committee include the identification of sites worthy of inclusion in the World Heritage List, enhancing international knowledge and awareness of those sites, and providing technical assistance for their preservation and restoration.

Cyrene, in the Jebel Akhdar region 220 kilometres north east of Libya's second largest city, Benghazi, was founded by the Greeks in about 630BC. According to legend, the trader Baccus led his followers to Cyrene from the island of Thera (the modern Santorin) after having consulted the Oracle at Delphi. The settlement's original name was Karuna, after a mythological nymph dedicated to hunting. The name was appropriate: this well-watered region of Libya carried extensive forests of pine and oak.

By 500BC the Greeks had established a series of other settlements in the Jebel

THE WORLD Heritage Committee, a specialised agency of UNESCO, has designated the ruined city of Cyrene in the Jebel Akhdar as a World Heritage Site. Dr Alan George charts the rise and fall of the Greek city which is one of the Jamahiriya's most spectacular historic treasures.

Akhdar region – at Teuchira (the modern Tukra), Berenice (Benghazi), Ptolemeis (Tolmeitha), Apollonia (Marsa Susa) and Barka (Marj). All these colonies prospered. They were located in one of Libya's most fertile agricultural regions, and it is known that wheat was exported to Greece. Another basis of the settlements' growing wealth was their location at the junction of major trade routes stretching east-west along the coast and southwards into the Sahara.

Apogee

By the fourth century BC Cyrene had reached its apogee, and was one of the largest and wealthiest cities in the whole of North Africa, famous for its horses and wool, and for the medicinal plant silphium, which was a major export and became one of the city's emblems.

Cyrene was also a centre of culture which rivalled Athens and Rome. Amongst its famous scions were the mathematician Theodorus, to whose school Plato became affiliated; Aristippus, who introduced the

thought of Socrates and founded an influential school of philosophy; and the philosophers Eratosthenes, Callimachus, Carneade and Anniurius.

After Alexander the Great's death in 323BC, Ptolemy I of Egypt extended his rule to the Jebel Akhdar. Ten years later, the five major Greek cities in the region joined in a federation, known as the Pentapolis, with Ptolemy as titular head of state and Cyrene as the undisputed capital. In earlier times, the cities had functioned as independent states, and were frequently at odds with each other, combining only to counter the common threat posed by tribesmen who periodically advanced from the interior. Under the Ptolemies, Cyrenaica was ruled through local governors. The most powerful of these was Magas (300-250BC), who attained virtual independence from Egypt and in 274 led an army against his nominal master, Ptolemy II.

Ptolemaic rule ended in 96BC when Apion, son of Ptolemy IX, bequeathed the region to Rome, which by then had become the superpower of the Mediterranean. Roman rule was at first tenuous, however, and Cyrenaica became a Roman Province only in 74BC.

The Pentapolis continued to prosper under the Romans, although most of Cyrene's public buildings were destroyed in 115-116AD, when the city's substantial Jewish community staged a rebellion. Extensive reconstruction was undertaken under the Emperor Hadrian (117-138), Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and Commodus (180-192), and this urban development embraced more than just the buildings destroyed in the Jewish revolt.

Cyrene became a centre of early Christianity, and from the beginning of the fourth century, many churches were erected, both

in the city and in the surrounding countryside.

After a period of steady expansion spanning more than eight hundred years, the city entered a decline, dating from the third century, Cyrene was devastated by a major earthquake in 262AD, and this probably accounts for a reference on an inscription of Claudius Gothicus (268-270) to an attempt to refound the city as 'Claudiopolis'. The declining status of the city was underlined early in the fourth century, when Ptolemais took over as the region's administrative capital, in a move which prevented any possibility of Cyrene reasserting its earlier dominance. At the same time, Cyrene's role as the cultural and intellectual centre of North Africa was being challenged by Alexandria.

The city's decline was hastened by another, and even more severe, earthquake in 365, when large sections of Apollonia, Cyrene's port, were submerged beneath the Mediterranean.

Ruin

Cyrene's status by the end of the fourth century was graphically conveyed by Bishop Synesius of Ptolemeis, the official ambassador to the imperial court. In an address before the Emperor Arcadius in 399, he reported that Cyrene was 'now poor and downcast, a vast ruin, and in need of a king'. This may have been an overstatement, as later letters by the Bishop show. The broad thrust of his message to the Emperor was accurate, however; twenty years earlier, Ammianus Marcellinus had described Cyrene as 'an ancient city, but now deserted'.

Cyrene's difficulties were compounded during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries



Libyan subject: a bronze head of the Roman period

by incursions by the interior tribes. The late R G Goodchild, a British archaeologist who did much work in Libya commented: 'Life in the Pentapolis must have been difficult and dangerous then, for the invaders, anticipating the tactics of Omar Mukhtar in 1925-30, infiltrated into the deep ravines of the Wadi Kuf and cut the province in two'. Cyrenaica was overrun by the Austurians, an interior people, in 410 and again in 450. Another desert tribe, the Mazices, intruded in 510. Despite the tribal incursions, however, the five key cities were never seized, and remained under Byzantine control.

'A wealth of buildings and artefacts'

'CYRENE COVERS the 1,200 years of classical antiquity, and has left a wealth of buildings and artefacts of this long period from which the history of Libya may be worthily studied'. That is how Dr Abdullah Shaiboub, President of the Jamahiriya's Department of Antiquities, summed-up the significance of Cyrene in his submission for the site's inclusion on the World Heritage List.

He added: 'All lovers of natural beauty, of the sciences of geology, geography and archaeology, and of the history and achievements of mankind, will hope that Cyrene will be preserved for today's and future generations to enjoy'.

Cyrene is located at an altitude of 600 metres, on twin hills divided by a wadi leading to the coast at Marsa Susa, eighteen kilometres away. On the east hill stands the Amphitheatre and the Great Temple of Zeus, which is the largest Greek temple in North Africa. Government buildings, residential areas and the market place stand on the western hill.

Down in the wadi lies the Fountain of Apollo, a perennial spring flowing from deep caverns, which is now known as Ain Shahat, and nearby is the Temple of Apollo, built by the early Greek settlers. The city was enclosed by strong defensive walls, and the whole was dominated by the Acropolis, Cyrene's defensive core.

Dr Shaiboub's submission presented a broad outline of the site, saying that it could be divided into five distinct zones: the Sanctuary of Apollo; the Acropolis; the Greek Agora and Roman Forum; the Valley Street, crossing the site from north west to south east; and the North Eastern Suburb. Of these, the Sanctuary of Apollo has been largely explored and restored, and considerable excavation has been undertaken in the Agora-Forum and the Valley Street areas. In the North Western Suburb, the Temple of Zeus has been carefully excavated, and is being restored. Little work, however, has yet been undertaken on the Acropolis. Dr Shaiboub added that 'the lines of successive city walls, Greek, Hellenistic, Roman and

Byzantine, have been traced and parts of some of the gates and towers remain'.

The submission noted that local museums contain 'an outstanding harvest' of sculpture, ceramics and other treasures, and that while earthquakes had severely damaged the city's structures, 'they enabled a great many of the statues to escape later damage at the hand of man because they were deeply buried in the debris and thus preserved'.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's submission to the World Heritage Committee also stressed that Cyrene has 'like other Mediterranean ruins, suffered in some degree from the European passions for ancient works of art, and many moveable antiquities were carried away openly or clandestinely in the 18th and 19th centuries'. Particularly serious losses had been 'the headless Aphrodite, now in Italy, and the Cyrene fountain with goddess, nymph and lion, which was taken by archaeologists to the British Museum in 1861'.



The professionals: Danish Housing Minister Niels Bollman praises Libyan efficiency

Denmark strengthens trade ties

DENMARK'S GROWING involvement in the Jamahiriya's development programme, and Copenhagen's refusal to bow to US pressure on its West European allies to sever trade ties with Libya, were highlighted last October, when Danish Housing Minister Niels Bollman paid a two-day official visit to Tripoli for talks with Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Housing Secretary Muhammad al Manqush and Communications and Marine Transport Secretary Al Bukhari Salim Houda.

The Scandinavian country's trade with Libya has expanded dramatically in recent years. In 1979, Danish exports to the Jamahiriya totalled DKr109.1 million. This rose to DKr176.1 million in 1980 and to DKr385.1 million in the following year. Libyan exports to Denmark were valued at DKr7.9 million in 1979, rocketed to DKr117.7 million in 1980 and then fell back to DKr2.2 million in 1981, as the North Sea oilfields came on stream to meet most of Europe's demand for the high quality crude oil previously supplied by the Jamahiriya.

In 1979 Libya was the eighth largest market for Danish goods in the Arab region. By 1981 it had become the sixth largest, accounting for 6.3 per cent of all Danish sales in the region.

Agriculture is the traditional backbone of the Danish economy, and it is therefore no surprise that specialist agricultural development companies have been playing an important role in the expansion of the Jamahiriya's agriculture. The Danfarm

DANISH HOUSING Minister Neils Bollman recently visited Tripoli for talks aimed at bolstering the growing trade and other ties between Tripoli and Copenhagen. Robert Miller reviews the role being played by Danish firms in Libya's development programme, and reports on Mr Bollman's impressions of the Jamahiriya.

company, for example, is engaged in a major project some eighty kilometres south of Tripoli.

Less well-known is the involvement of Danish construction and civil engineering companies, even if this is still on a small scale, at least in comparison with firms from countries like South Korea, Turkey and Italy. Denmark's H Hoffman & Sonner, in association with Kemp & Lauritzen and A Jespersen, has completed a DKr100 million sewerage contract, but Danish firms have tended to concentrate on design and supervision contracts. Last February it was announced that Larsen & Neilson is pro-

viding design work, precast concrete technology and production assistance for Libya's \$1.4 billion housing and classroom construction scheme, for which South Korea's Daewoo Corporation has the main contract. The project entails building 5,000 homes in Tripoli and 7,000 in Benghazi, as well as 2,500 classrooms in eleven Libyan municipalities. A precast concrete factory relating to the scheme is nearing completion near Tripoli.

Contract

In June last year it was disclosed that the Danish firm of Tomas Schmidt had had its contract renewed for the management of a major plant in Tripoli which produces concrete building elements, including walls, parapets, balconies and slabs for local housing schemes. The factory was built in 1974 by another Danish firm, Hojgaard & Schultz, which managed the plant for the first five years.

The Danish Library Design Bureau provides another example of a firm providing specialised services which has achieved success in the Jamahiriya. In 1982, DLDB won orders in the Arab region totalling \$1.5 million, and the firm's clients included both the Garyounis University in Benghazi and the Al Fateh University in Tripoli.

Interviewed by the *Libyen-Bulletin*, journal of the Danish-Libyan Arab Friendship Society, on his return from the Jamahiriya last October, Danish Housing Minister Niels Bollman confirmed his country's determination to strengthen trade and other ties with Libya, and he also expressed his admiration for the pace of the Jamahiriya's socio-economic development. Libya's development programme, said Mr Bollman, was 'very broadly based. Everywhere they are constructing houses and flats, hospitals and an impressive road system. We were particularly impressed with the developments in infrastructure'.

The Minister testified to the Jamahiriya's efforts to ensure that all its citizens share directly in the country's wealth, saying: 'Tremendous efforts have been made to ensure that oil proceeds have benefitted the whole population.'

Mr Bollman recalled that as recently as the early 1960s, Libya was poverty-stricken, with exports confined to a few agricultural commodities. Bearing this in mind, he declared, the progress that has been attained was 'quite simply, very impressive'.

Mr Bollman and his delegation were evidently surprised and pleased by the serious approach of the officials with whom they conferred in Tripoli. 'Everything was arranged with extraordinary precision,' he said. 'We were impressed with the punctuality shown by everyone. There were no problems at all. If a meeting had been arranged for ten o'clock, then it began at ten o'clock; not at quarter past, or even five past. They were there, ready to receive us, and they had done their homework. They had notes and interpreters - and they knew their jobs. It was all very professional.'



Industrial investment: The Jamahiriya is set for continued growth in the light industrial sector of the economy

Qadhafi tours Jebel al Gharbi schemes

THE KEY strategy of all the Jamahiriya's development plans has been to expand the directly productive sectors of industry and agriculture so as to diversify the economy away from its reliance on the oil industry. Major strides have been achieved in both sectors, but in recent years concern has been expressed at the pace of agricultural expansion. Low productivity and bottlenecks in agriculture were major topics at both the January 1982 and February 1983 meetings of the General People's Congress - the Libyan legislature. Underlining the Jamahiriya's determination to overcome these difficulties, Muammer Qadhafi has been undertaking a series of visits to agricultural development projects, to assess progress and to urge workers to redouble their efforts.

On 11th January the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that the Libyan leader had visited the Jebel al Gharbi project in the north west of the Jamahiriya, which entails the planting of 1.5 million fig, nut, olive and apple trees. JANA said that Colonel Qadhafi planted apple and olive seedlings in the Bougailain Haira, Gar and Al Qawassem plantations, where over 3,000 hectares of land has already been reclaimed. The schemes are near completion, and will have an eventual total of 500,000 trees. The revolutionary leader also visited the Jandouba apple tree plantation, where 280,000 trees will be planted this season, and the total is scheduled to reach 600,000 by the end of next season.

Colonel Qadhafi toured the Jebel al Gharbi schemes in the company of Mr Azu Zayd Umar Durdah, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Agrarian

Reform and Land Reclamation, and the Secretary of the People's Committee of Gharian Municipality.

Agricultural investment in Libya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan is set at \$10.1 billion, and only the manufacturing sector has a larger allocation of funds. The plan calls for an increase in the number of date palms from 4.6 billion in 1980 to 5.2 billion in 1985. The number of fruit trees is set to rise from 3.1 billion to 4.1 billion. An area of 165,400 hectares will be afforested, and wind breaks will be planted over an area of 63,443 hectares.

Freight boom from Britain

UNITED KINGDOM freight agents have reported a boom in shipments to the Jamahiriya in recent weeks, indicating that the Libyan economy is continuing to expand despite the adverse impact of the world oil glut on the country's income. In 1982 Tilbury-based Searite, which acts for Italy's Tarros Line, handled only two hundred Twenty-Foot Equivalent Units (TEUs). In the last six weeks of 1983 alone, however, the figure reached 140 TEUs, and the firm was hoping that the total for the whole of last year would reach 2,000 TEUs - the same as in 1981, before the start of the oil glut.

The growing confidence of shipping lines in the pace of the Jamahiriya's economic expansion was highlighted by the recent announcement that the OT North Africa Line II of Italy has added a new fortnightly conventional service to its existing sailings from Europe to the Jamahiriya. The company's general agent in the United Kingdom, Kersten Hunik, disclosed that container trans-

shipment from Britain to Libya, via Antwerp, had become available, and added that if demand was sufficient, direct conventional services would also be introduced from the UK. The Italian line already provided fortnightly roll-on, roll-off container services between Venice and Tripoli, Benghazi and Misrata.

China confirms rail contract

THE CHINA Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) has confirmed that negotiations are near completion for a major contract to build a 192 kilometres railway line to link Tripoli with Ras Jedir on the Tunisian frontier. The three-year project will include construction of stations and other buildings. Designs and construction supervision for the line will be undertaken by the Hungarian firm of Tesco/Uvater, under a \$10 million contract awarded in 1981.

Chinese involvement in the development of the Jamahiriya's railway network was first revealed on 17th November, when the New China News Agency disclosed that an agreement for the scheme had been signed in Peking by Libya's Communications and Marine Transport Secretary, Mr Al Bukhari Salem Houda, and the Chinese Railways Minister, Mr Chen Puru. The name of the company involved was not announced at the time. CCEC is already participating in the Jamahiriya's development programme, and has undertaken housing, workshops and water projects in the country. The firm has about one thousand personnel in Libya.

The Tripoli-Ras Jedir line will be the first in the Libyan railway network. A 210-kilometre link between Tripoli and Misrata has

already been designed by Britain's Mott, Hay & Anderson. A third major line will stretch 922 kilometres from Misrata to the south west desert town of Sebha, and will be used mainly to transport iron ore from the Sebha region for use in the steelworks nearing completion at Misrata.

The Jamahiriya has longer-term plans for a 1,300 kilometre line along the coast, from Misrata to the Egyptian border. When this is completed, it will be possible to travel by rail non-stop from Cairo via Benghazi and Tripoli to Tunis.

Boost for light industry

INDUSTRY RECEIVES the largest share of investment allocations in the Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan, with spending set at \$13.5 billion - 23 per cent of the total. Much of the investment is earmarked for heavy industries, such as the steel works under construction at Misrata, and the aluminium smelting complex planned for Zuwata. Light industries, however, are not neglected, and have an allocation of \$3.6 billion in the five year plan. Of this, \$285 million is being spent in the current fiscal year alone.

Last month it was disclosed that the Indian firm of United Technical Consultants has won a \$4.4 million contract to build two workshops and two warehouses at Zanzur for the Libyan Arab Company for Furniture, which are scheduled for completion in eight months.

United Technical Consultants are already involved in the Libyan development programme, having a \$10.5 million civil and electrical works contract at Sert Brega, and a civil works sub-contract for four cattle farms being established by the French company of Filled. ▶



Financial centre: Libya's Central Bank plans move to new headquarters. A contract for the new development is expected soon

► The new workshops and storage facilities should allow a further rise in output for the Furniture Company, which last year produced 30,000 chairs, 220,000 divans and nine million coil springs.

Sweden to build Uruba interchange

AT THE time of the Al Fateh Revolution in 1969, Libya's road network was rudimentary. There were few paved trunk routes, and many of these were in disrepair. In the countryside, dirt tracks were the norm. The progress that has since been attained was underlined last August, when the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that the country's road network had expanded to 25,675 kilometres, of which 4,400 kilometres were agricultural roads and 21,275 kilometres were trunk routes. The current 1981-85 development plan calls for the completion of 6,500 kilometres of new roads.

In the major towns and cities, ring road systems are being constructed to avert urban traffic congestion, and in December it was announced that the Jamahiriya's National Construction Company (NCC) has awarded the Swedish firm of Skanska Cementgjuteriet a \$67.5 million contract to build interchange number one on the four-kilometres Uruba-Benghazi road, which links Benghazi's sports stadium with the third of the city's concentric ring roads. The inter-

change scheme includes viaducts, slip roads, a roundabout, landscaping, drainage and associated works, and is for completion in two years. Consultant is Britain's Rendel, Palmer & Tritton.

Benghazi Municipality last May awarded NCC main contracts for the first three intersections on the Uruba road, and two others are planned.

1984 award for new Central Bank

THE \$250 million construction contract for the new Central Bank of Libya headquarters in Tripoli is expected to be awarded in the middle of this year, it was disclosed last month. Last September it was announced that the Italian firm of Sviluppo Tecnica had completed designs for the 45,000 square metres building, and that the bid closing date for the project was the end of January. About twenty firms have reportedly submitted offers.

Tripoli power network expands

JAPAN'S DAINICHI-Nippon Cables and West Germany's Siemens have won a major turnkey contract from the Jamahiriya's Electricity Secretariat to supply

and install electricity substations and underground power lines in the Tripoli region. The two firms will build transformer substations which will be linked to the Libyan capital's electricity distribution network by 12.2 kilometres of cable. The contract, which includes training of Libyan personnel, is for completion in 22 months. The total contract value has not been disclosed, but Dainichi has revealed that its share of the work is valued at \$21.7 million.

The electricity supply and distribution system for Libya's second largest city, Benghazi, is also being expanded, and in December it was disclosed that South Korea's Daewoo Corporation is the low bidder for an extension to the Benghazi North power station and desalination plant. Four companies have submitted offers, and these are now being evaluated by the consultant, Electrobels Engineering International of Belgium. Daewoo's bid was \$546 million; second lowest bidder, at \$654 million, was Hyundai Engineering & Construction Company, also of South Korea. In third place was West Germany's Brown, Boveri & Compagnie, at \$758 million, while Italy's Snamprogetti bid at \$850 million. A contract is expected to be awarded this year.

The extension of the Benghazi North station will entail the installation of three 120 MW turbines, a multi-stage flash desalination plant with a daily capacity of 100,000 cubic metres, and seawater and freshwater reservoirs and pumping stations. The contract will also involve the construction of fuel storage tanks, a computerised control centre, workshops and a

220kV substation linked to the electricity grid.

The Benghazi North plant was established in 1971 with a capacity of 30 MW and 24,000 cubic metres per day of desalinated water. Three years later, capacity was doubled, and in 1977 two 40 MW turbines were added. Electrobels designed the original plant and the two subsequent expansions, and it was awarded its current \$8 million design contract in 1981.

The Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan allocates \$6.6 billion to the electricity sector, and provides for an increase in the country's generating capacity from 4,800 MW in 1980 to 9,400 MW in 1985. Many of Libya's largest generating stations are linked to desalination plants, and the plan calls for the output of desalinated water to rise to 755 million cubic metres per day by the end of the plan period.

Arab banks support pipeline scheme

LEAD MANAGERS of a consortium of Arab and South Korean banks are scheduled to meet soon to decide a syndication strategy to cover a \$324 million performance bond and advance payment guarantee for South Korea's Dong Ah Construction Industrial Company, the London-based *Middle East Economic Digest* disclosed on 6th January.

In September Dong Ah was awarded the main \$3.3 billion contract to build a 1,900 kilometres pipeline to carry 700 million cubic metres of water per annum from beneath the Sahara in the Sarir and Tazerbo regions, south of Benghazi, for industrial, agricultural and domestic use in the coastal zones to the north.

MEED said that Dong Ah's first advance payment guarantee will total \$160 million, and would be received by the company in mid-January. The firm was also scheduled to receive a \$164.2 million performance bond guarantee, which will be put out for syndication. A second advance payment guarantee tranche of \$63 million is to be guaranteed nine months after the first, and this will be followed by a third tranche of \$24 million, 27 months later. Seven Arab banks have already underwritten the performance bond and advance payment guarantee issue, at \$46.4 million each.

In December it was disclosed that Dong Ah was setting up a procurement office in the United Kingdom for about fifty engineers, who were expected to arrive from Seoul by the start of the New Year.

Arab Homeland

□ **15th December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba has expressed 'deep satisfaction' at the progress of Libyan-Tunisian relations. He was speaking at the start of a meeting in Tunis with the Secretary of the Jamahiriya's General People's Committee for Communications and Marine Transport, Mr Al Bukhari Salem Houada.

□ **15th December:** JANA reports that Muammer Qadhafi has conferred by telephone with Syrian President Hafez al Assad. Discussion centred on President Assad's health.

□ **15th December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Mr Muhammad Kabbaj, Morocco's Minister of Equipment, who is currently visiting the Jamahiriya, has paid a visit to the Municipality of Tripoli, where he was received by the Secretary of the Tripoli People's Committee for Utilities.

□ **15th December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Major Khweildi Hamidi, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, has conferred in Tripoli with Mr Muhammad Ali Nasser, Tunisia's Minister of Social Affairs.

□ **19th December:** Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, confers in Tripoli with Mr Fadhl Alla Shrouf, member of the Politburo of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command, and with Abu Ali Mehdi, a leader of the New Revolutionary Movement in the Fatah Palestinian resistance organisation.

□ **19th December:** Tunis radio discloses that Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba has welcomed a formal proposal from Tripoli requesting the Jamahiriya's accession to the Treaty of Fraternity and Concord signed last March between Tunisia and Algeria. Mauritania recently became a party to the treaty.

□ **21st December:** JANA announces that revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi has received Mr Ahmad Reda Guedira, adviser and personal envoy of King Hassan, who conveyed a special message from the Moroccan head of state.

□ **31st December:** Staff Major Abdesalam Jaloud and Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, confer in Tripoli with Abu Saleh, one of the leaders of the New Revolutionary Movement in the Fatah Palestinian resistance organisation, and with Mr Ahmad Jibril, Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command.

□ **4th January:** Muammer Qadhafi confers in

Tripoli with Mr Ahmad Reda Guedira, Special Envoy of King Hassan, and with Mr Idris Busri, Morocco's Minister of the Interior.

□ **5th January:** JANA discloses that Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, has conferred with Mr Taysir Quba'a and Mr Salah Salah, members of the Politburo of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Jamahiriya economic news

□ **15th December:** Citing a report from the General People's Committee for Planning, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announces that Libya's heavy industrial enterprises attained encouraging results this year. JANA said that production was up 13 per cent in oil refining. Methanol output totalled 186,000 tonnes, an 8.7 per cent rise on 1982; 98,000 tonnes of urea was produced (a 17 per cent increase); ammonia production totalled 271,000 tonnes (a 7.2 per cent rise); and asphalt output increased to 31,900 tonnes.

International

□ **15th December:** JANA discloses that Engineer Jadallah Azourz Talhi, Secretary of the General Popular Committee, recently conferred in Tripoli with Mr Juan Smarbash, the Chairman of the International Olympic Committee.

□ **19th December:** Mr Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison, receives Mr Hujatoleislam Khazim Khowansari, who presented his credentials as Iran's new Ambassador to Libya.

□ **19th December:** The Maltese Foreign Minister, Dr Trigona, ends a visit to the Jamahiriya, during which he held talks with a number of Libyan Secretaries on relations between the two countries.

□ **20th December:** Mr Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison, receives Panama's Ambassador to the Jamahiriya for talks on bilateral relations.

□ **21st December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that Muammer Qadhafi has received the Yugoslavian Ambassador to the Jamahiriya, who conveyed a verbal message from the collective Yugoslav Presidency on the current international situation and on the development of relations between Tripoli and Belgrade.

□ **2nd January:** The Director of the North Africa and Middle East Department at the French Fore-

ign Ministry arrives in Tripoli at the start of a visit to the Jamahiriya.

□ **5th January:** JANA discloses that Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, has conferred in Tripoli with Mr Sieks Hamdiyah Eskiya, a member of Upper Volta's National Revolutionary Council.

□ **7th January:** Mr Fisseha Desta, Executive Committee member of Ethiopia's Commission for Organising the Party of the Working People, confers in Tripoli with Brigadier Abou Bakr Younis Jaber, Commander in Chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces. Also present were Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Secretary for Communications and Marine Transport Mr Al Bukhari Salem Houada, Ethiopia's Minister of Security, Mr Tesfaye Ould Selassie, and Ethiopian Minister of Construction, Mr Kassa Gebre.

□ **8th January:** Captain Henry Zongo, a member of Upper Volta's National Revolutionary Council, arrives in Tripoli at the start of a visit to the Jamahiriya.

□ **8th January:** Mr Al Bukhari Salem Houada, the Jamahiriya's Secretary for Communications and Marine Transport, confers in Tripoli with Mr Kassa Gebre, Ethiopian Minister of Construction.

□ **10th January:** Libya's Administrative Committee for Revolutionary Information meets in Tripoli with a Maltese delegation which included Mr Joseph Kamillary, Premier Dom Mintoff's Adviser for Communications.

□ **10th January:** Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa holds talks in Tripoli with the Maltese Minister of Economy, aimed at bolstering bilateral relations in the industrial and economic fields.

Jamahiriya

□ **21st December:** The Jamahiriya news agency JANA discloses that the newspaper *Jamahiriya*, organ of the Movement of Revolutionary Committees, has urged the Libyan people to impose a total boycott on western military supplies, in retaliation for American policies in the region.

□ **4th January:** Muammer Qadhafi addresses a demonstration staged in Tripoli by Libyan women, who were marching to the headquarters of the General Command of the Libyan Armed Forces. Earlier, graduates of Libya's military colleges had called on women to play a fuller role in the country's defence.

□ **7th January:** The Palestinian People's Congress in the south east Libyan town of Kufra holds a special emergency meeting to discuss Yasser Arafat's recent visit to Cairo.



The GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

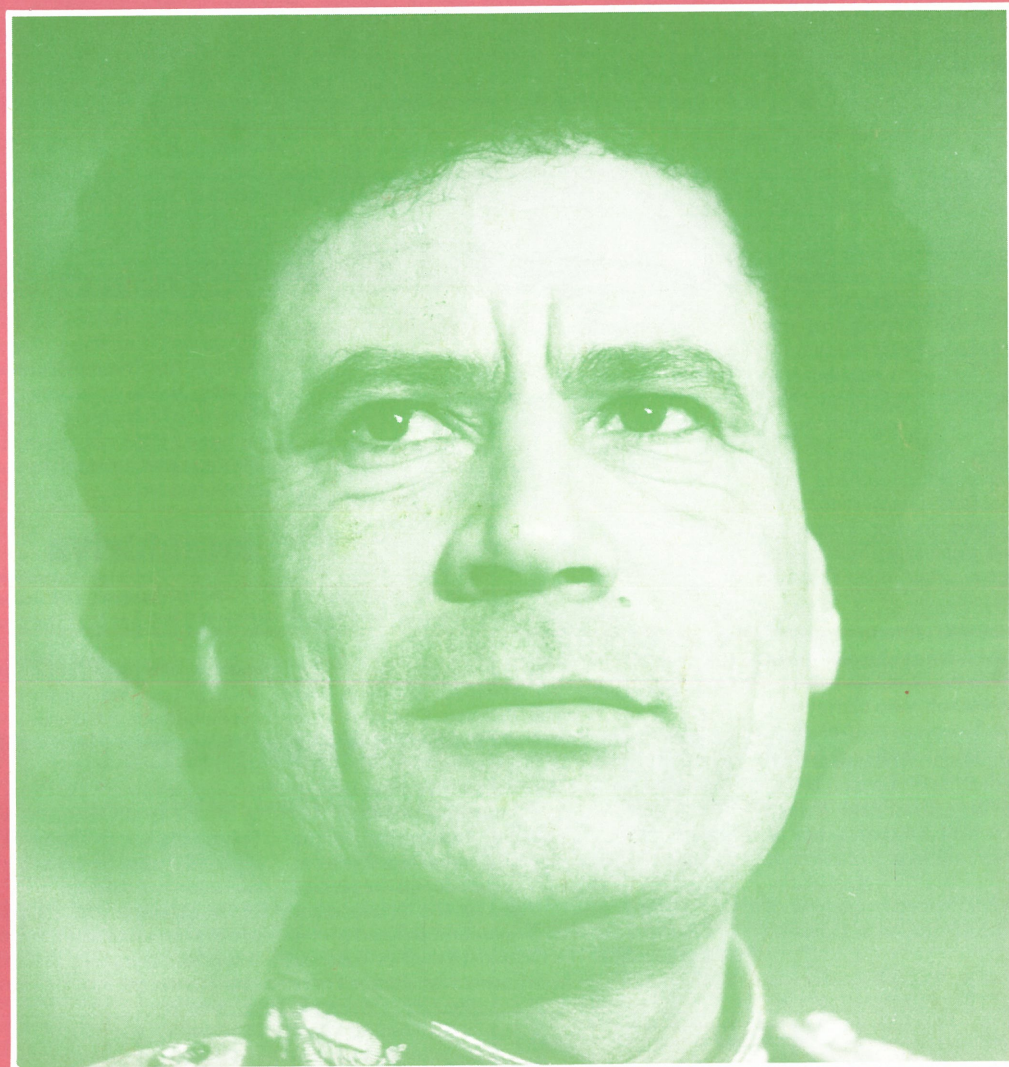
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jamahiriya review

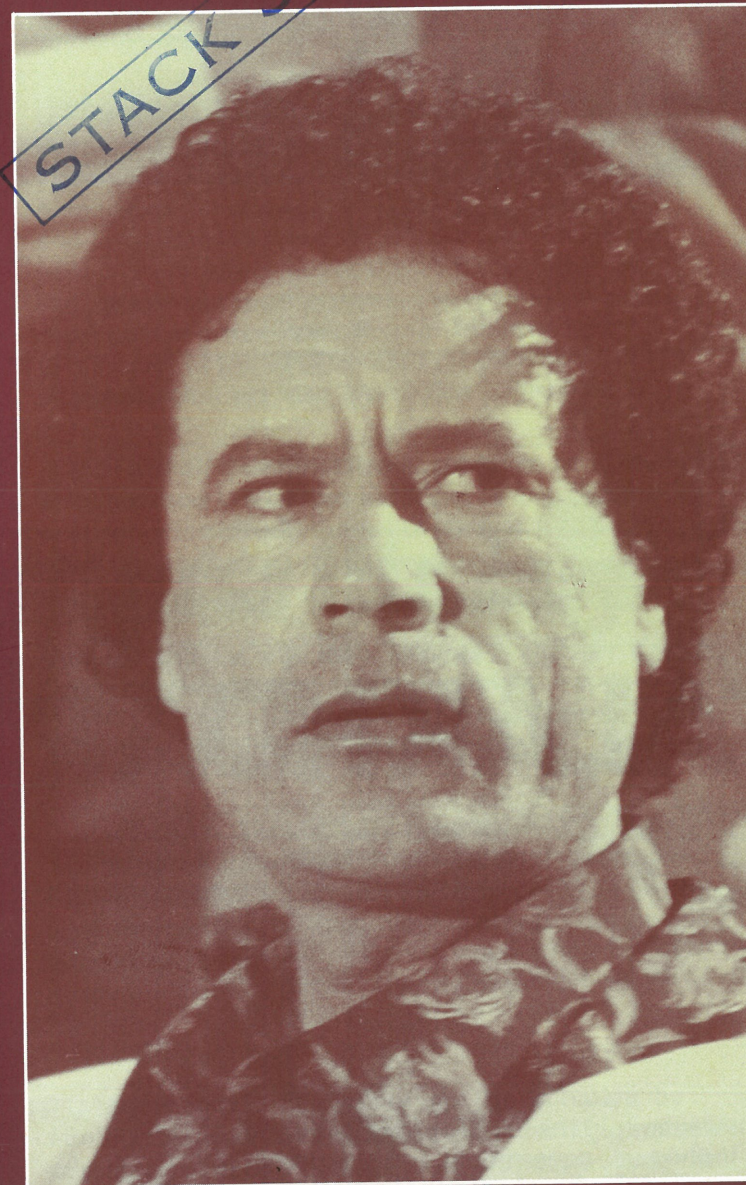
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THE AGE OF THE JAMAHIRIYA

The Sebha Declaration recalled



'DIRECT POPULAR authority is the basis of the political system of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Authority belongs to the people and to no one else. The people exercise authority through popular congresses, popular committees, trade unions, federations, craft associations and the General People's Congress.'
– The Sebha Declaration, 2nd March 1977

'FROM THE desert, the dawn of a new age shines upon humanity, the age of the masses. For the desert is neither arid nor desolate. From the desert, and on this fateful day in the life of our people, nation and mankind, comes forth the ringing voice of a people announcing the establishment of the authority of the people, the birth of the Jamahiriya, the beginning of the age of the masses. The desert may not bring forth vegetation, but it brings forth moral values and gives birth to eternal messages of civilisation.' – Muammer Qadhafi, 2nd March 1977

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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION
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